

Structure Removal

A New Approach to Conflicting Representations

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1. Introduction

Main claim:

Syntactic derivations employ two elementary operations modifying representations: In addition to an operation that *builds* structure – *Merge* (Chomsky (2001; 2008; 2013)) –, there is a complementary operation that *removes* structure: *Remove*.

Conflicting representations:

1. There is substantial evidence for conflicting representations in syntactic derivations.
2. The standard means to account for this is movement (internal Merge): If some item α shows properties associated both with position P and position Q, then this is due to the fact that α has moved from Q to P.
3. Addressing conflicting representations in terms movement is often straightforward (e.g., θ -assignment in the base, satisfaction of criterial movement constraint in the derived position, as with wh-movement of an object), sometimes less obviously so (see, e.g., Weisser (2014) on medial clauses and asymmetric coordination, derived by correlating base-generated subordination (Q) and surface coordination (P) by movement of the clause).
4. However, there are many cases of conflicting representations that do not lend themselves to analyses in terms of movement.
5. These latter cases can be straightforwardly derived by structure removal.

Observation:

If Remove exists as the mirror image of Merge, it is expected to show similar properties and obey identical constraints.

Assumptions about Merge:

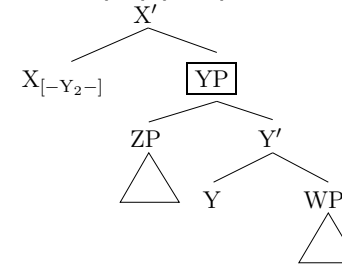
- (i) Merge is feature-driven. It is triggered by designated $[\bullet F \bullet]$ features, which are ordered on lexical items (Svenonius (1994), Collins (2002), Adger (2003), Lechner (2004), Kobele (2006), Sternefeld (2006), Pesetsky & Torrego (2006), Heck & Müller (2007), Müller (2014), Abels (2012), Georgi (2014a), Stabler (2013)).
- (ii) Merge may apply to heads (incl. head movement in cases of internal Merge) or phrases (incl. XP movement in cases of internal Merge): $[\bullet F_0 \bullet]$, $[\bullet F_2 \bullet]$. (0=min, 2=max.)
- (iii) Merge obeys the Strict Cycle Condition in (1) (Chomsky (1973; 1995; 2001; 2008); also cf. the Extension Condition and the No Tampering Condition).
- (iv) Merge can be external or internal.

- (1) *Strict Cycle Condition* (SCC):
Within the current XP α , a syntactic operation may not exclusively target some item δ in the domain of another XP β if β is in the domain of α .
- (2) *Domain* (Chomsky (1995)):
The domain of a head X is the set of nodes dominated by XP that are distinct from and do not contain X.

Assumptions about Remove:

- (i) Remove is feature-driven. It is triggered by designated $[-F-]$ features, which are ordered on lexical items.
 - (ii) Remove may apply to heads or phrases: $[-F_0-]$, $[-F_2-]$.
 - (iii) Remove obeys the Strict Cycle Condition.
 - (iv) Remove can be external or internal.
- (3) *Remove and phrases: complements*

a. Merge($X_{[-Y_2-]} > [-Y_2-]$, YP):



b. Remove($X_{[-Y_2-]}$, YP):

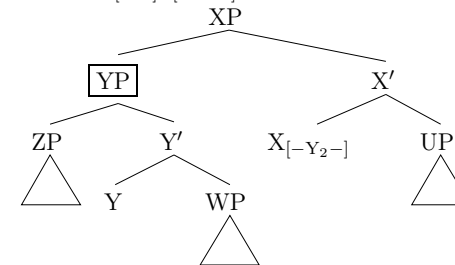
X

Note:

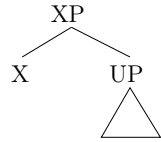
ZP, WP cannot be removed by X because of the Strict Cycle Condition.

(4) *Remove and phrases: specifiers*

a. Merge($X'_{[\bullet Y \bullet]} > [-Y_2-]$, YP):



b. Remove($X'_{[-Y_2-]}$, YP):

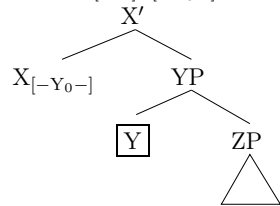


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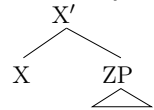
Again, ZP & WP cannot be removed by X because of the Strict Cycle Condition. In principle, X might also remove UP in this configuration after YP has been merged. To avoid this outcome, the Strict Cycle Condition could be strengthened (from phrases to projections). Alternatively, such a derivation might be permitted (also cf. Richards (2001) on tucking in with internal Merge).

(5) Remove applying to heads: complements

a. Merge($X_{[\bullet Y \bullet]}>[-Y_0-]$, YP):



b. Remove($X_{[-Y_0-]}$, Y):

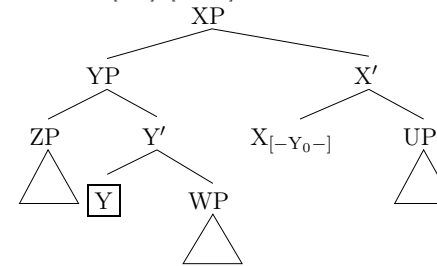


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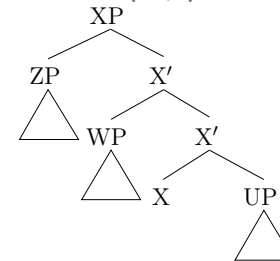
Since $[-F_0-]$ removes the head, it takes away the highest projection, and only this. More deeply embedded material (like ZP) is attached to the head responsible for removal and replaces the original item (YP): This works exactly like tree pruning (see Ross (1967)). If there are two or more items in YP (e.g., ZP, WP), they reassemble in their original structural and linear order in the XP domain.

(6) Remove applying to heads: specifiers

a. Merge($X'_{[\bullet Y \bullet]}>[-Y_0-]$, YP):



b. Remove($X'_{[-Y_0-]}$, Y):



Short life cycle effects:

1. Some other operation Γ can be interspersed between Merge(X, YP) and Remove(X, Y(P)).
2. However, due to the Strict Cycle Condition, a YP removed by $[-F-]$ is predicted to have a short life cycle: It is only accessible for other operations for a small part of the derivation.
3. Given incremental, bottom-up derivations, this implies that YP is accessible from below (downward accessibility) and inaccessible from above (upward inaccessibility): Remove counter-bleeds Γ but bleeds subsequent operations (see Chomsky (1951), Kiparsky (1973)).
4. There is empirical evidence for short life cycle effects of this type.
5. Alternative accounts can only derive these kinds of effects on a case-by-case basis, as conspiracies because they cannot acknowledge, and model, a systematic pattern.

Relevant phenomena:

1. Removal of YP:
 - grammatical function-changing: DP removal triggered by $[-D_2-]$ on v or V (passive, applicative, antipassive).

- deletion: sluicing triggered by [-T₂-] on C, VP ellipsis triggered by [-V₂-] on T. (See Murphy (2015).)

2. Removal of Y:

- reanalysis: restructuring, extraction phenomena, etc., triggered by [-Y₀-].
- DP/NP oscillation (Bošković (2012) on Slavic languages, Arkadiev & Testeleins (2014) on conflicting structure assignments to nominal projections in Circassian (Adyghe and Kabardian), Kornfilt (2013) on similar phenomena in Turkish).

Plan:

Based on data from German, I focus on (a) grammatical-function changing (removal of YP), and (b) reanalysis (removal of Y) in what follows.

2. Removal of YP: Grammatical Function-Changing

2.1. Passive

2.1.1. Data

Background:

There is evidence in support of a syntactic approach to passive where the external argument is accessible (Chomsky (1957), Perlmutter & Postal (1983), Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989), Sternefeld (1995), Collins (2005), Schäfer (2012), Alexiadou & Doron (2013), Harley (2013), Merchant (2013), Georgi (2014b)). (The external argument is rendered as DP_{ext} in what follows.)

(7) I: Control by DP_{ext} into purpose clauses:

- Das Schiff wurde DP_{ext1} versenkt [CP PRO₁ um die Versicherung zu kassieren]]
the ship was sunk in order the insurance to collect
- Der Reifen wurde DP_{ext1} aufgepumpt [CP PRO₁ um die Fahrt fortzusetzen]
the tire was inflated in order the journey to continue

(8) II: Subject-oriented secondary predicates and DP_{ext}:

- Die Daten wurden DP_{ext1} [SC PRO₁ nackt] analysiert
the data were naked analyzed
- Das Handout wurde DP_{ext1} [SC PRO₁ übermüdet] verfasst
the handout was tired written
- Es wurde [SC PRO₁ absichtlich] ein Fehler gemacht
it was deliberately a mistake made
- Dort wird [SC PRO₁ freiwillig] gearbeitet
there is voluntarily worked

(9) III: Principle A and DP_{ext}:

- Hier wurde DP_{ext1} sich₁ nicht geprügelt
here was REFL not hit
- Es wurde DP_{ext1} einander₁ gedankt
it was each other thanked

(10) IV: Principle C and DP_{ext}:

- *Gestern wurde DP_{ext1} Fritz₁ eingeladen
yesterday was Fritz invited
intended reading: ‘Yesterday, Fritz invited himself.’
- ??Gestern wurde DP_{ext1} Fritz₁ [PP von sich₁] (selbst) geschlagen
yesterday was Fritz by himself self invited

(11) Downward Accessibility Generalization:

The external argument in passive constructions (DP_{ext}) is accessible for items below v’.

Observation:

A question that does not seem to have been widely pursued is whether the external argument in passive constructions is also accessible for higher items. (Notational convention: ~~DP_{ext}~~ means that DP_{ext} seems to be inaccessible.)

(12) V: Unavailability of binding in impersonal passives:

- *Kein Student₁ glaubt [CP dass ~~DP_{ext1}~~ gut gearbeitet wird]
no student believes that well worked is
- Kein Student₁ glaubt [CP dass ~~DP_{ext1}~~ [PP von ihm₁] gut gearbeitet wird]
no student believes that by him well worked is

(13) VI: Unavailability of binding in personal passives:

- *Er hat den meisten Lehrern₁ erzählt [CP dass ~~DP_{ext1}~~ der Maria Bücher geschenkt werden sollen]
he has the most teachers_{dat} told that the Maria_{dat} books_{nom} given are should
- Er hat den meisten Lehrern₁ erzählt [CP dass [PP von ihnen₁] ~~DP_{ext1}~~ der Maria Bücher geschenkt werden sollen]
he has the most teachers_{dat} told that by themselves the Maria_{dat} books_{nom} given are should

(14) VII: Unavailability of criterial movement of DP_{ext} in passive constructions:

- *Ich denke [CP ~~DP_{ext1}~~ ist gut gearbeitet worden]
I think is well worked been
- Ich denke [CP [PP von ihr₁] ist gut gearbeitet worden]
I think by her is well worked been
- Ich denke [CP es ist ~~DP_{ext1}~~ gut gearbeitet worden]
I think it is well worked been

Observation (Stechow & Sternefeld (1988, 447-451), Wunderlich (1989), von Stechow (1989)):

Control infinitives must have an accessible subject argument.

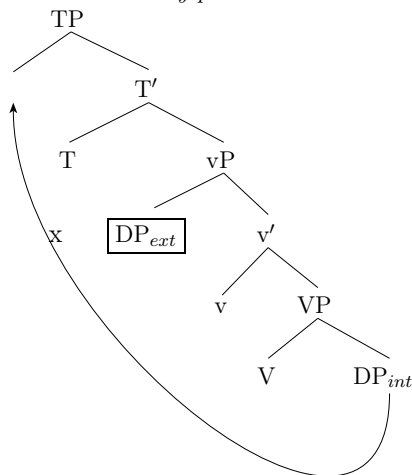
(15) VIII: Unavailability of control into impersonal passives:

- a. *Er versucht [_{CP} ~~DP_{ext}~~ gearbeitet zu werden]
 he tries worked to be
- b. *weil [_{CP} bald ~~DP_{ext}~~ geschlafen zu werden] gewünscht wird
 because soon slept to be wished is

Observation (Collins (2005)):

If the external argument is structurally represented in passive constructions, it is unclear why movement of the internal argument to subject position can take place, given the Minimality Condition: DP_{ext} in SpecvP is invariably closer to SpecT than DP_{int} in VP.

(16) IX: The Minimality problem with movement to subject position:



However:

DP_{int} moves to SpecT in English passive constructions; and DP_{int} can also move to SpecT in German passive constructions where such movement is optional.

(17) Subject movement in passive constructions in English:

- [_{TP} John₂ was [_{vP} ~~DP_{ext,T}~~ [_{v'} v [_{VP} killed t₂]]]]

A test for optional movement to SpecT in German (Müller (2001)):

- (i) Only a nominative subject argument DP can precede unstressed pronouns and at the same time follow C elements; object DPs cannot do so.
- (ii) Unstressed pronouns move to a domain that precedes the landing sites for scrambling (specifiers of vP) and follows SpecT (this rules out (18-c)).
- (iii) Subject DPs can optionally move to some designated position in front of unstressed pronouns: SpecT.

(18) Optional subject movement in active constructions in German:

- a. dass es₃ [_{vP} der Fritz₁ dem Karl₃ t₂ gegeben] hat
 that it_{acc} the Fritz_{nom} the Karl_{dat} given has
- b. dass der Fritz₁ es₃ [_{vP} t₁ dem Karl₃ t₂ gegeben] hat
 that the Fritz_{nom} it_{acc} the Karl_{dat} given has
- c. *dass der Fritz₁ dem Karl₃ es₂ [_{vP} t₁ t₃ t₂ gegeben] hat
 that the Fritz_{nom} the Karl_{dat} it_{acc} given has
- d. *dass dem Karl₃ der Fritz₁ es₂ [_{vP} t₁ t₃ t₂ gegeben] hat
 that the Karl_{dat} the Fritz_{nom} it_{acc} given has

(19) Optional subject movement in passive constructions in German:

- a. dass der Karl₂ ihr₃ [_{vP} ~~DP_{ext,T}~~ [_{v'} [_{VP} t₃ t₂ vorgestellt] v]] wurde
 that the Karl_{nom} her_{dat} introduced was
- b. dass ihr₃ [_{vP} ~~DP_{ext,T}~~ [_{v'} [_{VP} t₃ der Karl₂ vorgestellt] v]] wurde
 that her_{dat} the Karl_{nom} introduced was

Note:

This presupposes that DP arguments that themselves have to undergo movement do not give rise to intervention effects via the Minimality Condition; only DP arguments that stay in situ can do so. Also, it presupposes that movement operations like scrambling and unstressed pronoun fronting have a way to circumvent Minimality effects.

Observation (Pitteroff (2014)):

DP_{ext} does not block *anaphoric binding* from above in passive constructions, in contrast to other external arguments in German that act as interveners; cf. the passive/active pair in an AcI construction with *lassen* in (20) (Pitteroff (2014)). (German AcI constructions sometimes permit long-distance reflexivization, but this effect only shows up with PPs; cf. Reis (1976), Gunkel (2003), Barnickel (2014). Also, binding by the matrix subject in (20) cannot be due to raising of *sich* to the matrix clause because *sich* can participate in VP topicalization.)

(20) X: Transparency for anaphoric binding

- a. Der König₁ lässt [_{pass} ~~DP_{ext,t2}~~ sich_{1/2} rasieren]
 the king_{nom} lets REFL shave
- b. Der König₁ lässt [_{act} die Diener₂ sich_{*1/2} rasieren]}
 the king_{nom} lets the servants REFL shave

(21) Upward Accessibility Generalization:

The external argument in passive constructions (DP_{ext}) is *not* accessible for items above v'.

Combining the two generalizations, the Accessibility Generalization in (22) emerges.

(22) Accessibility Generalization:

DP_{ext} in passive constructions is accessible from below and inaccessible from above.

Note:

This general pattern does not follow under any syntactic approach without further stipulations. Existing approaches can only address individual subgeneralizations. (E.g., Bruening (2012) derives V/VI by building existential binding deeply into the working of passivization (at the cost of duplicating lexical entries); Collins (2005) derives IX by adopting a smuggling analysis (which must then rely on movement of non-constituents); Pitteroff (2014) derives X by postulating different different sizes for active vs. passive complements of *lassen*.)

2.1.2. Analysis

Proposal:

- Passive is triggered by the optional addition of a $[-D_2-]$ feature to v in the numeration (i.e., to the very same head that introduces the external argument DP).
- $[-D_2-]$ on v will remove an existing DP specifier of v .
- The system is myopic and exerts instantaneous repair: Removal of an argument DP immediately triggers removal of the next case feature from v .

(23) Transitive passive constructions:

- das DP_{ext_1} das Buch_{nom} gelesen wurde
that the book read was
- Lexicon: $v:[\bullet V\bullet] \succ [\bullet D\bullet] \succ [*acc*]$ ($[\bullet F\bullet]$ = probe feature for Agree)
- Numeration: $v:[\bullet V\bullet] \succ [\bullet D\bullet] \succ [-D_2-] \succ [*acc*]$

(24) Scarcity of case features:

A head assumes that the number of DPs and case features is balanced; undoing the effect of a $[\bullet D\bullet]$ feature by discharging a $[-D_2-]$ feature therefore invariably implies removal of a $[\bullet case\bullet]$ feature on a head in the syntax (if such a feature is present).

Note:

This implies that probes can be deleted when the need arises (see Béjar & Řezáč (2009), Preminger (2011)).

(25) A passive derivation:

- $v:[\bullet V\bullet] \succ [\bullet D\bullet] \succ [-D_2-] \succ [*acc*]$, $[VP$ das Buch gelesen]
- $[v' v:[\bullet D\bullet] \succ [-D_2-] \succ [*acc*]$ $[VP$ das Buch gelesen]]
- $[vP DP_{ext} [v' v:[\bullet D\bullet] \succ [-D_2-] \succ [*acc*]$ $[VP$ das Buch gelesen]]
- Syntactic activity of DP_{ext}** : a short life cycle in which control and binding of c-commanded items can be accomplished
- $[vP v:[*acc*]$ $[VP$ das Buch gelesen]]
- $[vP v$ $[VP$ das Buch gelesen]]

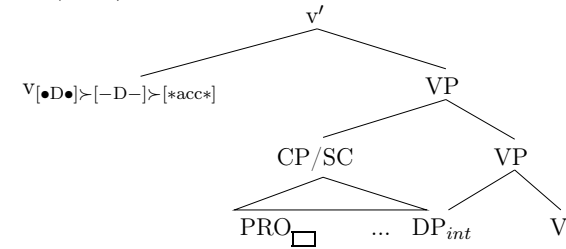
2.1.3. Life

(26) Control:

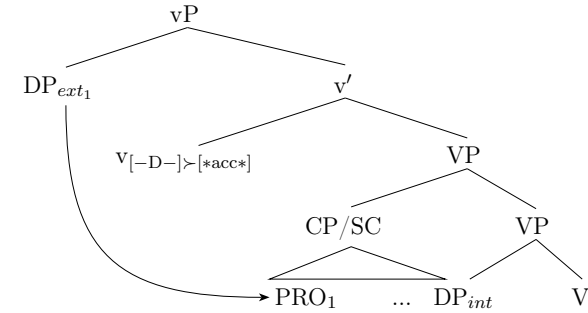
- Das Schiff wurde DP_{ext_1} versenkt $[CP$ PRO₁ um die Versicherung zu kassieren]]
the ship was sunk in order the insurance to collect
- Die Daten wurden DP_{ext_1} $[SC$ PRO₁ nackt] analysiert
the data were naked analyzed

(27) Control in passive derivations

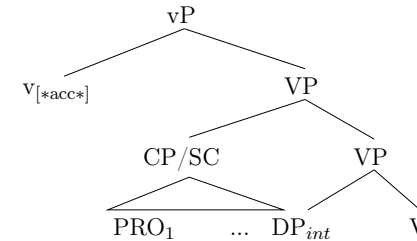
a. Merge(v, VP)



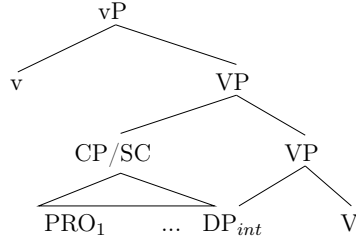
b. Control by DP_{ext} : Merge(DP_{ext}, v')



c. Counter-Bleeding of control by DP_{ext} : Remove(DP_{ext}, v')



d. *Case probe removal*



Note:

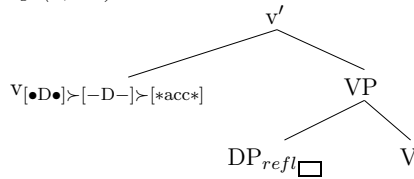
Remove would bleed control (because it removes the context in which control can apply) but comes too late to actually do so – control has already applied. Thus, opaque rule interaction results: *counter-bleeding*. The output representation is opaque because it is not clear how control can have applied successfully – there is no controller left at this point.

(28) *Binding:*

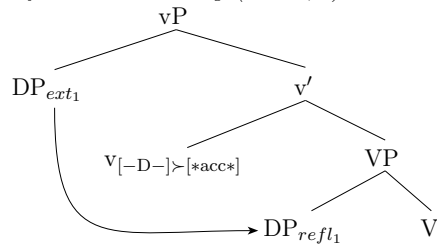
- a. Hier wurde DP_{ext1} sich₁ nicht geprügelt
 here was REFL not hit
- b. *Gestern wurde DP_{ext1} Fritz₁ eingeladen
 yesterday was Fritz invited
intended reading: ‘Yesterday, Fritz invited himself.’

(29) *Binding in passive derivations*

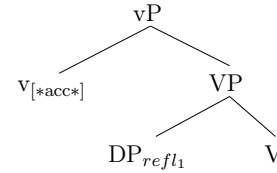
a. *Merge(v, VP)*



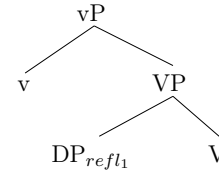
b. *Reflexivization: Merge(DP_{ext}, v')*



c. *Counter-bleeding of reflexivization: Remove(DP_{ext}, v')*



d. *Case probe removal*



Note:

Principle A (more generally, whatever brings about reflexivization) is an Anywhere Principle (see Belletti & Rizzi (1988), Epstein et al. (1998)).

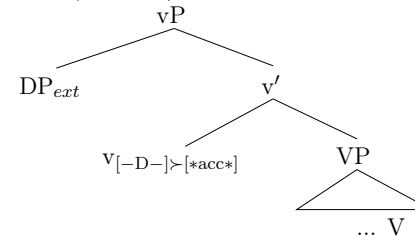
2.1.4. *Death*

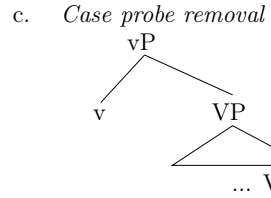
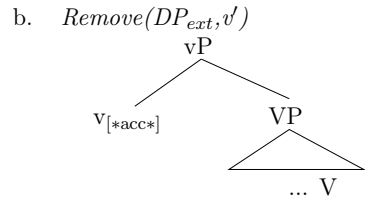
(30) *Binding from above:*

- a. *Kein Student₁ glaubt [CP dass ~~DP_{ext1}~~ gut gearbeitet wird]
 no student believes that well worked is
- b. *Er hat den meisten Lehrern₁ erzählt [CP dass ~~DP_{ext1}~~ der Maria
 he has the most teachers_{dat} told that the Maria_{dat}
 Bücher geschenkt werden sollen]
 books_{nom} given are should

(31) *Bound variable interpretation in passive derivations*

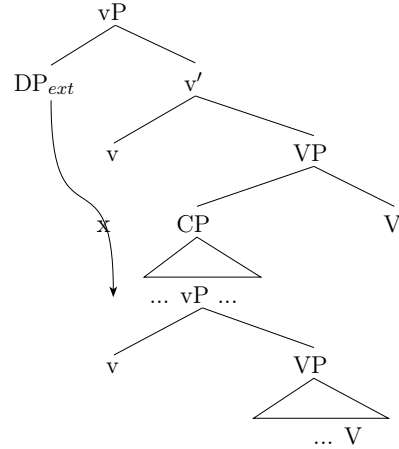
a. *Merge(DP_{ext}, v')*





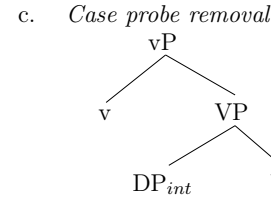
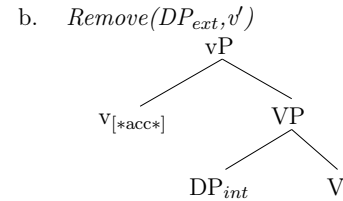
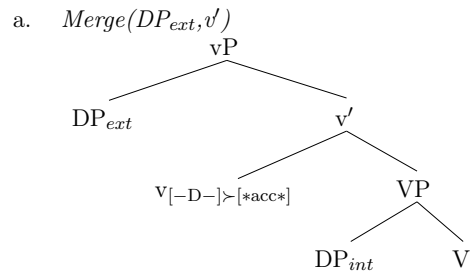
d. ...

e. *Bleeding of binding of embedded DP_{ext}: Merge(DP_{ext},v')* in the matrix clause

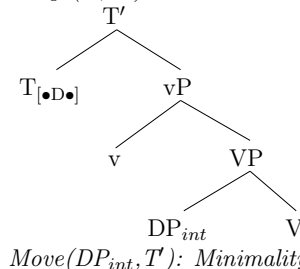


(32) *Subject raising respects Minimality:*
 [TP John₂ was [vP ~~DP_{ext,T}~~ [v' v [VP killed t₂]]]]

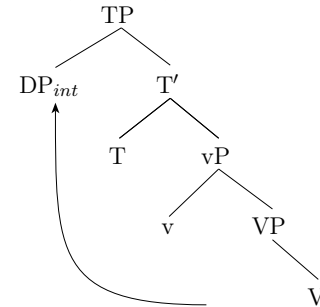
(33) *Minimality in passive derivations*



d. *Merge(T,vP)*



e. *Move(DP_{int},T')*: Minimality respected



2.1.5. Voice and v

Side remark:

It might in principle be possible to attribute the syntactic argument reduction effect to an additional Voice head that takes vP as a complement; however, in that case a look-ahead problem would arise (given that v rather than Voice assigns objective case). What is worse, a [-D₂-] feature on Voice for removal of DP_{ext} in SpecvP would lead to a violation of the Strict Cycle Condition; see discussion of (3).

Note:

This implies that arguments for a simultaneous presence of VoiceP and vP in passive

constructions have to be re-evaluated. This includes:

- morphological evidence based on affix order (and the Mirror Principle) in Hiaki (Harley (2013)) and Tamil (Sundaresan & McFadden (2014))
- syntactic evidence based on ellipsis of verbal categories under identity (Merchant (2013))

Alternative:

Voice can remove DP_{ext} after all if DP_{ext} first *moves* to SpecVoice; see Murphy (2014).

2.1.6. Intransitive Constructions

(34) *Impersonal passive in German:*

- a. *Unergative verbs:*
 - (i) Hier wird jetzt gearbeitet
here is now worked
 - (ii) Getanzt wurde nicht
danced was not
- b. *Unaccusative verbs:*
 - (i) *Hier wird jetzt gefallen
here is now pleased
 - (ii) *Es wurde angekommen
it was arrived

Observation:

$[-D_2-]$ on v does not intrinsically stipulate that it is the external argument DP_{ext} that is removed as a consequence of Remove, rather than some VP-internal object DP. This effect follows from the Strict Cycle Condition: Structure-building and structure-removal can only take place at the root (cf. discussion of (3)).

Consequence:

- The sole DP argument of an unergative verb can be removed via $[-D_2-]$ on v since it is located in Spec v , and execution of Remove does not violate the Strict Cycle Condition.
- The sole DP argument of an unaccusative verb cannot be removed via $[-D_2-]$ on v since it is located within VP, and execution of Remove would violate the Strict Cycle Condition.

2.1.7. The External Argument: Resurrection

Note:

So far, nothing has been said about what DP_{ext} looks like in passive constructions.

Null hypothesis:

DP_{ext} can be anything: A referential expression, a pronoun, a DP without phonological features, even perhaps an empty category like *pro*: Even though argument *pro* is not licensed in German (and theories that postulate it for passive constructions in this language

are in danger of stipulating construction-specific empty categories), this is unproblematic if it is deleted before cyclic spellout (assuming that this is where argumental *pro* must be licensed by some means like rich inflection).

By-phrases:

1. DP_{ext} is removed from the structure via $[-D_2-]$, and placed in the workspace.
2. DP_{ext} is remerged into the structure in the only way that is available without structure-building features, viz., as an adjunct.

2.2. Applicative

2.2.1. Data and Existing Analyses

(35) *Applicatives in German:*

- a. Wir laden Heu auf den Wagen
 we_{nom} load hay_{acc} onto the wagon
- b. Wir beladen den Wagen mit Heu
 we_{nom} load the wagon $_{acc}$ with hay

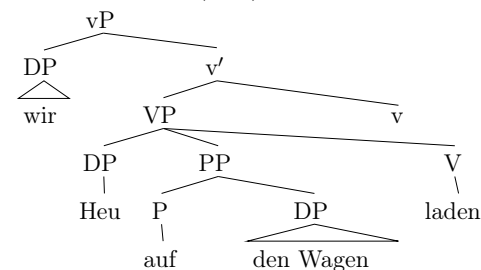
Two syntactic approaches:

(i) Baker (1988), Stechow (1992): P incorporation requires and permits accusative case assignment to DP in PP; the former direct object cannot be assigned accusative anymore and becomes oblique; cf. (36), (37).

(ii) Pyllkkänen (2000): An Appl head introduces a further argument.

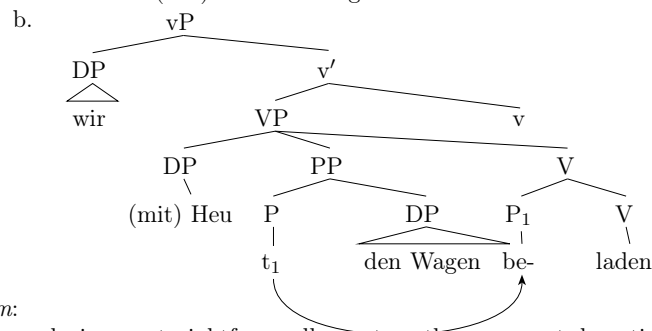
(36) *Applicatives by incorporation: base structure*

- a. dass wir Heu auf ('bei') den Wagen laden
- b.



(37) *Applicatives by incorporation: derived structure*

a. dass wir (mit) Heu den Wagen beladen



Problem:

Neither analysis can straightforwardly capture the argument demotion effect taking place with the theme DP.

2.2.2. New Analysis

Hypothesis:

Argument demotion effects with German applicatives are due to a Remove operation that accompanies a Baker-style derivation via P incorporation.

(38) *Proposal:*

- laden*: [\bullet P \bullet] > [\bullet D \bullet]
- P can be *auf* or *be*; the latter is an affix that moves to V in the syntax.
- A Remove feature [-D₂-] can optionally be added to V in the numeration: [\bullet P \bullet] > [\bullet D \bullet] > [-D₂-]
- As a consequence, the theme argument (*Heu*) is removed from the representation soon after it has been introduced by Merge as a specifier of V (it can subsequently be reintroduced as an adjunct).
- P incorporation makes assignment of case to the goal argument DP by P impossible; hence, this DP needs case from elsewhere. Since the theme DP has been removed, v is free to assign structural accusative case to the goal DP.

(39) *Optionality of theme argument as evidence for [-D₂-]:*

- ??Wir laden heute Heu
we load today hay
- *Wir laden heute auf den Wagen
we load today onto the wagon
- Wir beladen den Wagen
we load the wagon
- *Wir beladen mit Heu
we load with hay

Question:

How can the presence of *be* as the P head be tied to the presence of [-D₂-] on V?

Answer:

- Both operations are optional. However, if *be* is the P head and [-D₂-] does not show up, the second DP remains without case, and ungrammaticality arises; (40-a). On the other hand, if *auf* is the P head and [-D₂-] is instantiated on V in the numeration, *v_{trans}* will not find an argument to assign its accusative case feature to, and ungrammaticality results again if this case feature can fact not be deleted anymore; (40-b). (Alternative approach: selection.)

(40) *Blocked combinations:*

- *dass wir Heu den Wagen beladen
that we_{nom} hay_{acc} the wagon_{acc} load
- *dass wir (mit Heu) auf den Wagen laden
that we_{nom} (with hay) onto the wagon load

Prediction:

German applicatives are expected to exhibit short life cycle effects, with downward accessibility and upward inaccessibility.

(41) *Principle A: no evidence:*

- Wir setzen die Spielfigur₁ auf sich₁
we_{nom} put the pawn_{acc} onto REFL
- *Wir besetzen ~~DP_{mt1}~~ sich₁ (mit der Spielfigur)
we_{acc} put REFL (with the pawn)
- ?Wir besetzen die Spielfigur₁ mit sich₁
we_{nom} put the pawn_{acc} onto REFL

(42) *Control into secondary predicates: evidence for downward accessibility:*

- Man giesst das Wasser₁ dann [_{SC} PRO₁ heiss] über die gut gekühlten
one_{nom} pours the water_{acc} then hot over the well chilled
Beeren
berries
- Man begiesst ~~DP_{mt1}~~ dann die gut gekühlten Beeren [_{SC} PRO₁ heiss]
one_{nom} pours then the well chilled berries_{acc} hot
(mit dem Wasser)
(with the water)

(43) *Unavailability of binding: evidence for upward inaccessibility:*

- *Kein Student₁ will [_{CP} dass man ~~DP_{mt1}~~ den Wagen belädt]
no student wants that one the wagon loads
- Kein Student₁ will [_{CP} dass man ~~DP_{mt1}~~ den Wagen mit ihm₁ belädt]
no student wants that one the wagon with him loads

2.3. Antipassive

Generalizations (Baker (1988), Dixon (1994), Bittner & Hale (1996)):

- Antipassive involves demotion of a direct object, and intransitivization.
- Antipassive typically has some morphological reflex.
- Antipassive occurs mostly in ergative systems, and leads to ergative absorption. As such, it can permit movement of an external argument DP that would otherwise be blocked because of a general ban on ergative displacement.

(44) *Antipassive in Chukchee:*

- a. Yemronə-na qərir-ərkən-in ekək
 Yemron-ERG₁ suchen-PRS-3.SG₁.3.SG₂ Sohn-ABS₂
 ‘Yemron sucht seinen Sohn.’
- b. Yemron ine-lqərir-ərkən (akka-gtə)
 Yemron-ABS₁ APASS-suchen-PRS.3SG₁ (Sohn-DAT)
 ‘Yemron sucht (nach seinem Sohn).’

Question:

Is there an antipassive in German?

Answer (Müller (2011)):

Yes. However, there is no verb form that could adequately realize it, so it is difficult to identify: Antipassive underlies so-called “verbless directives” (Jacobs (2008), Wilder (2008)).

(45) *Antipassive in German:*

- a. Her mit {dem Geld / dem gestohlenen Geld / dem Geld, das
 PRT with the money_{dat} the stolen money_{dat} the money_{dat} that
 du mir gestohlen hast}!
 you me stolen have
- b. In den Müll mit {diesen Klamotten / diesen geschmacklosen
 into the garbage with these clothes these tasteless
 Klamotten / diesen Klamotten von H&M}!
 clothes these clothes from H&M

Jacobs’ observation:

It is impossible to derive (45) by simple deletion.

(46) *Ungrammatical sources:*

- a. *Gib (geh, trag, bring, ...) her mit dem Geld!
 give (go, carry, bring, ...) PRT with the money
- b. *Schmeiß (...) in den Müll mit diesen Klamotten!
 throw into the garbage with these clothes

Analysis in Müller (2011):

- v_{antipass} absorbs accusative case; the theme argument must then be realized as an oblique (or not at all).
- v can then not take an external argument anymore (because of Burzio’s generalization).
- There is no vocabulary item that can realize v_{antipass} in German, so the verb must be non-overt.

Observation (Jacobs (2006)):

Modification restrictions in verbless directives are identical to those of regular transitive clauses. This follows directly under the antipassive analysis.

(47) *Modification restrictions in regular transitives:*

- a. Schmeiß den Krempel weg!
 throw the stuff_{acc} away
- b. Schmeiß den Krempel schnell weg!
 throw the stuff quickly away
- c. *Schmeiß den Krempel sorgfältig weg!
 throw the stuff carefully away

(48) *Modification restrictions in verbless directives:*

- a. Weg mit dem Krempel!
 away with the stuff
- b. Schnell weg mit dem Krempel!
 quickly away with the stuff
- c. *Sorgfältig weg mit dem Krempel!
 carefully away with the stuff

Problem:

This analysis does not yet fully capture the demotion effect (as in the similar case of applicatives, see above).

(49) *Optional absence of the demoted theme argument:*

- a. (i) Weg mit dem Krempel!
 away with the stuff
- (ii) Weg!
 away
- (iii) *Mit dem Krempel!
 with the stuff
- b. (i) In den Müll mit diesen Klamotten!
 into the garbage with these clothes
- (ii) In den Müll!
 into the garbage
- (iii) *Mit diesen Klamotten!
 with these clothes

Solution:

- (i) Theme argument demotion in German antipassive constructions is brought about by a Remove feature.
(ii) This [-D₂-] feature must be located on V rather than on v, because of the Strict Cycle Condition (again, cf. discussion of (3)).
(iii) A v selecting a simple transitive V does not have an accusative case feature (in contrast to a v selecting a ditransitive V, see discussion of applicatives above).
(iv) There is no vocabulary item for a v-V complex thus formed (i.e., antipassives in German must be “verbless”).

Prediction:

German antipassives are expected to exhibit short life cycle effects, with downward accessibility and upward inaccessibility of DP_{int}.

- (50) *Downward accessibility, secondary predicates:*
- a. (i) Schmeiß das Buch₁ [PRO₁ ungelesen] in den Müll!
throw the book_{acc} unread into the garbage
(ii) DP_{int₁} [PRO₁ ungelesen] in den Müll (mit dem Buch₁)!
unread into the garbage (with the book)
(iii) *Ich arbeite (ungelesen) mit dem Buch (ungelesen)
I work (unread) with the book (unread)
- b. (i) DP_{int₁} [PRO₁ kalt] auf den Teller (mit dem Fleisch₁)!
cold onto the plate (with the meat)
(ii) DP_{int₁} [PRO₁ ungeöffnet in den See] (mit dem Paket₁)!
unopened into the lake (with the parcel)
(iii) DP_{int₁} [PRO₁ mit Umschlag in die Tasche] (mit dem Buch)!
with jacket into the bag (with the book)
- (51) *Downward accessibility, bound variable pronouns:*
- a. Bringe/Tue jeden Spieler₁ in sein₁ Versteck!
bring/put every player into his hiding place
b. DP_{int₁} in sein₁ Versteck mit jedem Spieler₁!
into his hiding place with every player
c. ?*Ich gehe in sein₁ Versteck mit jedem Spieler₁
I go into his hiding place with every player
d. ?Ich gehe in sein₂/das Versteck mit jedem Spieler₁
I go into his/the hiding place with every player

Note:

As for upward inaccessibility, most relevant cases are independently excluded because there is very little space in a verbless directive.

- (52) *Upward inaccessibility, bound variable pronouns*
- a. Wirf keinem Studenten₁ seine₁ Flaschen in den Biomüll!
throw no student_{dat} his bottles_{acc} into the organic garbage

- b. DP_{int} in den Biomüll mit seinen₁ Flaschen!
into the organic garbage with his bottles
c. *Keinem Studenten₁ DP_{int} in den Biomüll!
no student_{dat} into the organic garbage
d. *Keinem Studenten₁ in den Biomüll mit seinen₁ Flaschen!
no student_{dat} into the organic garbage with his bottles

(53) *Upward inaccessibility, criterial movement*

- a. ?Ich denke, DP_{int} in den Müll mit den Klamotten
I think into the garbage with the clothes
b. ?Ich denke, DP_{int} in den Müll
I think into the garbage

(54) *Upward inaccessibility, anaphoric binding:*

- a. Er₁ schmeiße sich₁ in die Büsche!
he throw_{subj} REFL into the bushes
b. Schmeiß (du) ihn₁ in die Büsche!
throw (you_{nom}) him_{acc} into the bushes
c. *DP_{ext₁} DP_{int₁} in die Büsche mit sich₁!
into the bushes with REFL
d. DP_{ext₁} DP_{int₁} in die Büsche mit ihm₁!
into the bushes with him

Note:

DP_{int} in (54-c) is not accessible to a co-indexed DP_{ext} that is later introduced by v (given that Remove is triggered by V).

3. Removal of Y: Reanalysis

Existing approaches to reanalysis phenomena (where movement is not an option):

- multidimensional representations: Huybregts (1982), Bennis (1983), Haegeman & Riemsdijk (1986), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987), Sadock (1991), Pesetsky (1995)
- unconstrained reanalysis rules (Bach & Horn (1976), Chomsky (1977) on extraction from NP, Chomsky (1981) on S-bar deletion with ECM constructions)

3.1. Restructuring in German

3.1.1. Arguments for Monoclausality of Restructuring Infinitives

Lit.:

Stechow & Sternefeld (1988), Grewendorf (1988), Fanselow (1991).

(55) *I. Ban on extraposition:*

- a. Sie hatte [nicht gestört zu werden] gewünscht
she had not disturbed to be wished
b. Sie hatte gewünscht [nicht gestört zu werden]
she had wished not disturbed to be

- c. Sie hatte [nicht gestört werden] wollen
she had not disturbed be wanted
- d. *Sie hatte wollen/gewollt [nicht gestört werden]
she had want/wanted not disturbed be

Note:

Some verbs obligatorily trigger restructuring; regular control verbs (like *versuchen*) do so optionally.

(56) II. *Wide scope of negation:*

- a. Sie musste nichts tun
she must-PAST nothing do
- b. Sie bedauerte nichts gesagt zu haben
she regretted nothing said to have

(57) *Two readings for (57-a), one for (57-b):*

- a. "Sie was forced to do nothing."
- b. "Sie did not have to do anything."
- c. "Sie regretted that she had not said anything."
- d. *"She did not regret that she said something."

Note:

The amalgamation of *nicht* and an indefinite, as in *nichts* or *niemand*, a "kohäsive Verbindung", is confined to membership in the same clause.

(58) III. *Scrambling across matrix material:*

- a. weil sich₁ der Oberförster₁ t₁ rasieren wollte
because REFL the head forester shave wanted
- b. weil der Oberförster₁ [sich₁ rasiert zu haben] bezweifelte
because the head forester REFL shaved to have doubted
- c. *weil sich₁ der Oberförster₁ [t₁ rasiert zu haben] bezweifelte
- d. *weil sich₁ der Oberförster₁ bezweifelte [t₁ rasiert zu haben]

Note:

Scrambling in German is strictly clause-bound.

(59) *Ban on long-distance scrambling in German:*

- a. *dass ihn₁ der Oberförster sagte [dass Peter t₁ treffen soll]
that him the head forester said that Peter meet shall
- b. *dass ihn₁ der Oberförster sagte [sollte Peter t₁ treffen]
that him the head forester said should Peter meet

(60) IV. *Status government* ('verbal case assignment'):

- a. als wir Ede singen hörten
when we Ede sing heard
- b. weil Beate Ede anrufen will
because Beate_{nom} Ede_{acc} call wants

- c. weil Beate Ede anrufen haben wird
because Beate_{nom} Ede_{acc} called have will
- d. weil das Wetter gut zu werden scheint
because the wather good to become seems

(61) *Status* ('verbal cases'):

- a. first status: aufessen (bare infinitive)
- b. second status: aufzuessen (zu-infinitive)
- c. third status: aufgegessen (past participle)

Assumption:

Status government, like all kinds of government, is clause-bound.

(62) V. *Pied piping of infinitives:*

- a. die Ratten, die zu fangen Hubert sich vorgenommen hatte
the rats which to capture Hubert REFL planned had
- b. *die Ratten, die Hubert fangen Günther ließ
the rats which Hubert capture Günther let
- c. *die Ratten, die zu fangen Günther scheint
the rats which to capture Günther seems

(63) VI. *Verb (projection) raising* (incl. Ersatz-infinitive):

- a. weil wir Ede hatten singen hören
because we Ede had sing hear
- b. weil Beate Ede wird anrufen wollen
because Beate_{nom} Ede_{acc} will call want
- c. weil er das Land nicht wird haben verlassen dürfen
because he the land not will have left may

(64) VII. *Intonation* ('Grenzpause'):

- a. weil sie ihn zu küssen versuchte
because she him to kiss tried
- b. weil sie versuchte □ ihn zu küssen
because she tried him to kiss

(65) *Consequence: structural ambiguity may arise:*

- a. weil Regine mich anzurufen versucht
because Regine me to call tries
- b. weil mich Regine anzurufen versucht *only restructuring possible*
because me Regine to call tries
- c. weil Regine versucht mich anzurufen *no restructuring possible*
because Regine tries me to call

3.1.2. *Arguments for Biclausality of Restructuring Infinitives*

(66) VIII. *Uniformity of embedding with verbs that optionally trigger restructuring:*

- a. dass der Oberförster versuchte [CP dem Peter einen Film zu
that the head forester tried the Peter_{dat} a film_{acc} to

empfehlen]
 recommend

- b. dass sie [CP dem Peter einen Film zu empfehlen] versuchte
 that she the Peter_{dat} a film_{acc} to recommend tried
- c. dass ihm₁ der Oberförster [dem Peter zu empfehlen] versuchte
 that him the head forester the Peter_{dat} to recommend tried

Note:

There are no control verbs can participate in restructuring but do not also allow a CP complement.

(67) IX. *Ungoverned PRO*

- a. dass der Oberförster versuchte [CP PRO ein Buch zu lesen]
 that the head forester tried a book to read
- b. dass der Oberförster [CP PRO ein Buch zu lesen] versuchte
 that the head forester a book to read tried
- c. *dass der Oberförster [VP PRO ein Buch zu lesen] versuchte
- d. *dass der Oberförster [VP ein Buch zu lesen] versuchte

Note:

This presupposes that *lesen* must discharge both its θ -roles in the syntax, that the external θ -role is represented by PRO, and that PRO must not be governed ('PRO theorem'), Chomsky (1981).

(68) *Overlapping binding domains with ECM in English* (Büring (2005)):

- a. O'Leary₁ believes himself₁ to deserve the crown of England
- b. O'Leary₁ wants Georgina₂ to protect herself₂
- c. *O'Leary₁ wants Georgina₂ to protect himself₁

(69) X. *No new binding domains with restructuring in German:*

- a. Der Oberförster₁ hat ihm₂ sich₁ zu waschen versprochen
 the head forester has him_{dat} REFL to wash promised
- b. *Der Oberförster₁ hat ihm₂ sich₂ zu waschen versprochen
 the head forester has him_{dat} REFL to wash promised
- c. ?Der Oberförster₁ hat ihm₂ sich₂ im Spiegel gezeigt
 the head forester has him_{dat} REFL in the mirror shown
 (Featherston & Sternefeld (2004))

Note:

The reasoning in (20-a) presupposes that *sich* is not obligatorily bound to a possible antecedent in a minimal clause and can find a different binder once the intervening subject is removed; the reasoning here implies that once *sich* has found a possible antecedent in a CP, it cannot find a new binder. The correct generalization would seem to be that picking a first possible antecedent is only obligatory and irreversible for German reflexives if that antecedent stays in the derivation. The crucial observation is that *der Oberförster* is, and *ihm* is not, such a possible first antecedent in (69-b), due to the presence of a CP

(biclausality).

3.1.3. *Analyses*

Restructuring has been argued to involve:

- monoclausality throughout: Haider (1993; 2010), Kiss (1995), Wurmbrand (2001)
- biclausality throughout: Baker (1988), Sternefeld (1990), Müller & Sternefeld (1995)
- reanalysis: Rizzi (1982), Aissen & Perlmutter (1983), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987)

Note:

- (i) Evidence for monoclausality \Rightarrow inaccessibility of CP (TP, ...)
 (ii) Evidence for biclausality \Rightarrow accessibility of CP (TP, ...): Short life cycle effects.

Sketch of a new reanalysis approach based on structure removal

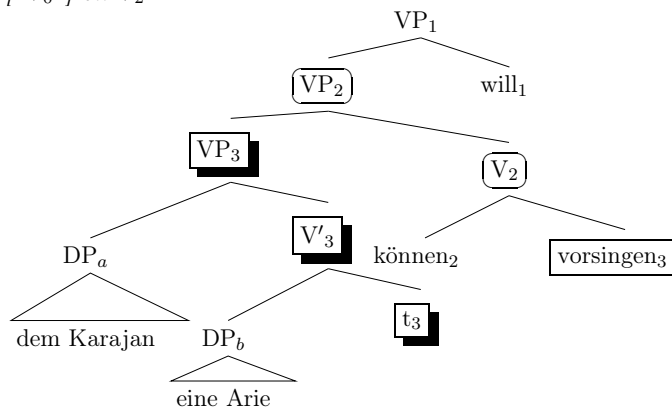
1. Restructuring verbs uniformly embed CPs, but they have Remove features that subsequently peel off CP, TP, ... (i.e., [-C₀-], [-T₀-]).
2. Different kinds of restructuring infinitives may thus have different sizes, depending on the amount of structure that is successively removed by the matrix verb (Fanselow (1991), Wurmbrand (2001)).
3. Operations that require the presence of CP (TP, ...) are checked before structure removal (they are counter-bleed and counter-fed by structure removal): Subcategorization, Principle A (in German; see above), PRO licensing.
4. Other operations that argue for monoclausality apply afterwards (bleeding, feeding).

Note:

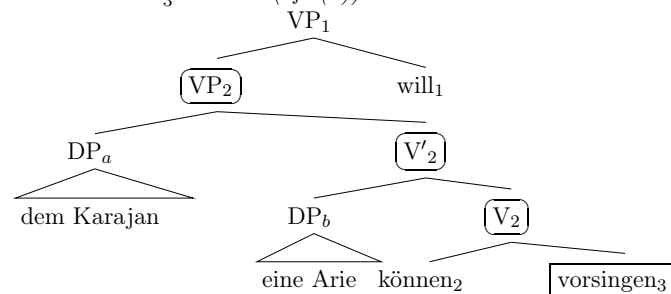
This approach also captures the notoriously problematic case of verb projection raising in Zurich German involving order preservation and interleaving of verbal and nominal material that is highlighted in Haegeman & Riemsdijk (1986).

- (70) dass er dem Karajan will eine Arie können vorsingen
 that he the Karajan_{dat} wants an aria_{acc} can sing

(71) *Intermediate stage of the derivation: V_3 movement plus V_3^i removal triggered by $[-V_0-]$ on V_2*



(72) *Continuation: V_3^i removal (cf. (6))*



Note:
Subsequent movement of V_2 yields the right order.

3.2. Extraction from Clauses

(73) *Bridge verbs vs. non-bridge verbs:*

- a. Wie₁ denkst du [_{CP} dass das passiert ist t₁] ?
how think you that this happened is
- b. *Wie₁ bedauerst du [_{CP} dass das passiert ist t₁] ?
how regret you that this happened is

Analysis in Müller (1995) (based on Ross (1967), Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), Chomsky (1973), Perlmutter & Soames (1979)):

- (i) All (finite) clausal complements are embedded in NP shells.
- (ii) Bridge verbs differ from other clause-embedding predicates in permitting abstract incorporation of N, the head of the NP-shell.

(iii) Presence of the NP-shell blocks extraction from a CP.

(iv) Problem: There is no evidence whatsoever for incorporation of an abstract N (bridge verbs do not form a natural class from a morphological perspective).

A reanalysis approach:

Bridge verbs have a Remove feature that gets rid of the NP shell: $[-N_0-]$

4. External Remove

Note:

All instances of Remove so far have been cases of *internal* Remove.

Question:

Are there also cases of *external* Remove?

Hypothesis:

Yes. This would include constructions where, e.g., one would expect a DP to show up (based on interpretation and subcategorization requirements), but it doesn't. Analysis: Here a head bearing a feature like $[-D_2-]$ that is restricted to external operations removes a D item from the numeration before it has ever had a chance to enter the syntactic derivation. ("Abortion", in life-cycle metaphorical parlance involving life, death, and resurrection.)

4.1. Adjectival vs. Verbal Passive

• Classic distinction for English: Tom Wasow (1977) ("Transformations and the Lexicon"); vgl. auch Williams (1981), Bresnan (1982), Levin & Rappaport (1986), etc.

• In German:

Zustandspassiv vs. Vorgangspassiv ('true Passiv'): two different passive auxiliaries.

(74) *Auxiliary selection:*

- a. Die Geisslein sind/were versteckt
the goatlings are/were hidden
- b. Die Geisslein werden/wurden versteckt
the goatlings are/were hidden

(75) *By-phrases* (but see Maienborn (2010) for qualifications):

- a. *Die Geisslein sind von niemandem versteckt
the goatlings are by no-one hidden
- b. Die Geisslein wurden von niemandem versteckt
the goatlings were by no-one hidden

However:

This does not yet automatically account for other differences between the two passives.

(76) *Temporal adverbials:*

- a. Das Fenster ist seit gestern geöffnet (offen)
- b. #Das Fenster wird seit gestern geöffnet

(77) *Un-Prefixation:*

- a. Das Fenster ist ungeöffnet
the window is unopened
- b. *Das Fenster wird ungeöffnet
the window is uopened

4.2. *Object Drop*

Lit.: Rizzi (1986), Grewendorf (1989), Müller & Rohrbacher (1989)

(78) *Object drop:*

- a. Karl isst schlecht
- b. Hans fotografiert gut

(79) *Control and implicit objects:*

- a. Das schöne Wetter lädt ein zu bleiben
- b. ?Gute Musik kann wieder miteinander versöhnen
- c. ?*Der Doktor untersucht nüchtern
- d. *Hans fotografiert im Sitzen

5. Conclusion and Outlook

Conclusion:

Structure removal systematically accounts for many cases of conflicting representations, where *movement* does not suggest itself.

Question:

Doesn't Remove violate basic syntactic principles?

Answer:

As a matter of fact, the only well-established constraint that Remove violates is the Projection Principle (Chomsky (1981)), which bans removal of thematically relevant structure. However, the Projection Principle has always been dubious since it can only be formulated as a *global rule* (Lakoff (1971)); and it is clear that it cannot be maintained in a Merge-based approach for principled reasons.

Question:

Does it make sense for syntactic derivations to first build structure and then remove it again?

Answer:

Teleological fallacy: It's not the case that Merge exists *so that* syntactic structures can be built. Rather, Merge exists, and as a consequence it can be used for structure-building. Note also that structure-building is not per se correlated with maximal size: There is no

reason why bigger structures would be preferable to smaller structures.

Furthermore:

- Feature deletion is widely adopted in minimalist analyses (also cf. Keine (2010), Doliana (2013) on impoverishment within syntax, and Arregi & Nevins (2012) on impoverishment close to syntax), and the difference between feature bundles on the one hand and heads and phrases on the other hand is a quantitative rather than qualitative one.
- As laid out in detail in Hornstein (2014), Chomsky's (2014) recent approach to complementizer-trace effects in English presupposes that the CP shell is structurally removed; this corresponds to [-F₀-] feature-driven Remove operations as envisaged above.

Future goals:

(i) To establish Remove as an integral part of syntactic derivations, it is necessary to carry out in-depth studies of (a) the grammars of individual languages, covering many different phenomena, which should eventually result in a substantial fragment, and (b) phenomena that potentially lend themselves to structure removal from a cross-linguistic perspective. The reason is that in principle, all individual pieces of evidence for Remove can presumably be addressed differently; it is the identification of a very general *pattern*, both cross-linguistically and with single languages, that will eventually make the case for or against this operation.

(ii) A new elementary operation Remove offers many new possible ways of interaction with established operations (like internal and external Merge, Agree) which need to be closely investigated (counter-feeding, feeding, counter-bleeding, bleeding).

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